T. Thurston & Rangachari 2,6-4,5 (no date) 1909
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175
512 to the god of day, proceeds to the tu-el or yard, in
782 which the cattle have been confined, and, again addressing the sun as the emblem of Siva, asks his blessing,
(233) and liberates the herd. He allows the cattle to stray about in the neighbourhood of the village, on a piece of ground which is always kept for this purpose, and, having performed his morning ablutions, commences the milking. This is also preceded by further salutations and praises to the sun. On entering the house in the evening, the Burgher addresses the lamp, now the only light, or visible emblem of the deity. 'Thou, creator of this and of all worlds, the greatest of the great, who art with us, as well in the mountain as in the wilderness, who keepeth the wreaths that adorn the head from fading, who guardeth the foot from the thorn, God, among a hundred, may we be prosperous.'"

241 The Badaga understands the rotation of crops well.
242 On his land he cultivates bearded wheat (beer ganji), barley, onions, garlic, potatoes, kīrē (*Amarantus*), sāmai (*Panicum miliare*), tenai (*Setaria italica*), etc.

562 "Among the Badagas," Mr. Natesa Sastri writes, "the position of the women is somewhat different from
(462) what it is among most peoples. Every Badaga has a few acres to cultivate, but he does not mainly occupy himself with them, for his wife does all the out-door farm work, while he is engaged otherwise in earning something in hard cash. To a Badaga, therefore, his
(465) wife is his capital. Her labour in the field is considered to be worth one rupee per day, while an average male
(464) Badaga earns merely three annas. A Badaga woman, who has not her own acres to cultivate, finds work on
(262) some other lands. She thus works hard for her husband and family, and is quite content with the coarsest food—the korali (*Setaria italica*) flour—leaving the

1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
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562 better food to the male members of the family. This
[262] fact, and the hard work the Badaga women have to perform, may perhaps account to some extent for the slight build of the Badagas as a race. The male
462 Badaga, too, works in the field, or at his own craft if he
562 is not a cultivator, but his love for ready cash is always so great that, even if he had a harvest to gather the next morning, he would run away as a cooly for two annas wages." Further, Mr. Grigg states that "as the men constantly leave their villages to work on coffee plantations, much of the labour in their own fields, as well as ordinary household work, is performed by the
[461] [583] women. They are so industrious, and their services of such value to their husbands, that a Badaga sometimes
462 pays 150 or 200 rupees as dowry for his wife." In the off season for cultivation, I am informed, the Badaga woman collects faggots for home consumption, and stores them near her house, and the women prepare the fields for cultivation by weeding, breaking the earth, and collecting manure.

651 In his report on the revenue settlement of the
656 Nilgiris (1885), Mr. (now Sir) R. S. Benson notes that "concurrently with the so-called abolition of the bhurty (or shifting) system of cultivation, Mr. Grant abolished the peculiar system in vogue up to that time in Kundahnad, which had been transferred from Malabar to the Nilgiris in 1860. This system was known as erkādu kothukādu. Under it, a tax of Re. 1 to Re. 1–8–0 was levied for the right to use a plough or er, and a tax of from 4 to 8 annas was levied for the right to use a hoe or kothu. The so-called patta issued to the ryot under this system was really no more than a license to use one or more hoes, as the case might be. It merely specified the amount payable for each instrument, but in no cases

1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
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796 ploughs, stars, sun and moon, snakes, lizards, etc. They then go into their houses, and wash their hands. Taking up in his clean hands a big cake, on which are placed a little rice and butter, the Badaga puts on it three wicks steeped in castor oil, and lights them. The cake is then waved round the heads of all the children of the house taken to a field, and thrown therein with the words "Sakalathi has come." The cake-thrower returns home, and prostrates himself before a lamp placed in the inner room, and repeats a long formula, composed of the various synonyms of Siva.

In the month of November, a festival called Dodda (262) Habba (big feast) is celebrated. In the afternoon, rice is cooked in whey within the hāgōttu, and eaten on mīnige leaves. Throughout the day the villagers play at various ball games.

796 A festival, which is purely local, is celebrated near 782 Konakore in honour of Mahangkāli. A buffalo is led to the side of a precipice, killed by a Kurumba with a spear, and thrown over the edge thereof. There is a legend 783 that, in olden days, a pūjāri used to put a stick in the crevice of a rock, and, on removing it, get the value of a buffalo in fanams (gold coins). But, on one occasion, he put the stick in a second time, in the hopes of gaining more money. No money, however, was forthcoming and, as a punishment for his greed, he died on the spot.

881 All Badaga villages, except those of the Udayas, have (841) a hut, called holagudi, for the exclusive use of women (349) during their monthly periods. A few months before a girl is expected to reach puberty, she is sent to the holagudi, on a Friday, four or five days before the new moon day. This is done lest, in the ordinary course of events, the first menstruation should commence on an inauspicious day. The girl remains in the holagudi one

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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175 to spit in the proper place.' With this attitude prevalent, the spread
[514] of various viruses and of *Mycobacterium tuberculosis* has been greatly curtailed. The regular washing of the body and shaving of
[515] pubic hair have also contributed to health by restricting the
302 incidence of bodily fungi and lice-borne diseases.

The ecological significance of these various beliefs and practices
175 is that as the Nilgiri population increased in the nineteenth century
161 and some village streams began to be polluted by this new pressure, the Badagas managed to avoid some contamination by switching from drinking stream water and fresh milk to tea, coffee
[318] and sometimes alcohol, all of which would be relatively free of bacterial organisms. The new balance with the environment that this change brought about was certainly one factor in the remarkable increase in the Badaga population since the advent of the British (Appendix 2).

175 At the same time that this change in drinking habits was occurring their eating habits were undergoing an equally radical
177 transformation. In part this was due to the several dozen types of
• 262 fruit, grain and vegetable introduced from Europe by British settlers and adopted by most Badagas. The variety of their diet was thus greatly increased.

VILLAGE NAMES

121 A study of the present Badaga hamlet names yields a body of insights about the early settlements formed during the two and a half centuries preceding the first British report (Keys, 1812).

Perhaps a somewhat lyrical description of the Nilgiri Plateau may at this point aid the reader's understanding of what is to follow:

133 The plateau is a true tableland, its average height being very uniform. But there is not a square mile of level ground in the whole of it, its surface being broken by endless undulations which in places swell into considerable and distinct ranges. It rises most abruptly from the plains below it; and on the west, above the Ouchterlony Valley and southwards, its sides are often sheer, bare walls, hundreds of feet in height and too steep even for trees to obtain a footing on them. Elsewhere dense forest covers almost the whole of its slopes . . .

It is first of all divided east and west into two fairly equal but

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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614 mous. They are in fact like any other Badaga clan in matters of marriage, having unions with other clans of dissimilar subculture, especially the Kanakkas, and even marrying meat-eating Gaudas.

614 If a Ha:ruva girl marries a Gauda then no meat is ever cooked in his house, and his wife remains a vegetarian. If her husband ●262 wants to eat meat he may arrange to have some cooked elsewhere and eat it away from home. The children of the union are fully Gaudas and will normally be non-vegetarians. When the Ha:ruva woman dies her household usually reverts to a non-vegetarian diet. It has been reported that, on the other hand, 'If a Badaga [Gauda] woman marries a Haruva she has to give up meat-eating and, to cleanse her, a red hot iron is put to her tongue'[13] 'After this she would not dare to eat meat... she would lose her eyesight' (Karl, 1945, 3). From this we can see that a woman married into a Ha:ruva family is expected to accept its dietary norms, whereas a Ha:ruva girl married into a socially lower clan is not expected to accept their diet (Tignous, 1911, 117). A Ha:ruva girl marrying into a Lingayat family does not change her diet but will have to wear the *linga* if it is offered her and to behave as a Lingayat. When a Ha:ruva man marries a Lingayat girl he continues to wear his thread while she usually continues to wear the *linga* if it has already been given her (see Plate 6).

614 Ha:ruvas are willing to accept food in the inner and more sacred room (where household gods are installed) of any other clan except 264 the Toreas. They would not demean themselves by entering a Torea house; and they would probably be offered food only in the outer room of a Wodea house. Wodeas never accept food in a Ha:ruva home as they consider Ha:ruvas inferior; but the other three Lingayat clans will eat in the inner room of a Ha:ruva house. Even meat-eating Adikiris, who are not Lingayats, can be [574] offered vegetarian food in the inner Ha:ruva room. The same holds true for visiting Gaudas and Kaggusis, people who may often come if related to the Ha:ruva household by marriage. Until the 1950s the Ha:ruvas also allowed Todas, Kurumbas, Irulas and Kasuvas to eat in the outer room, but Kotas were thought too polluting to pass beyond the entrance; since that time only Todas have been allowed into the house.

ADIKIRIS

614 The vegetarian Adikiris are a Lingayat clan numbering perhaps
(062)

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

knowledge by saying: 'After all, the connexion is too distant to matter; we are not marrying our own blood.' In effect they are giving up the ideal of clan exogamy in these cases while retaining the more meaningful ideal of village and lineage exogamy. The clans have now become so large that Gaudas can no longer look upon them as corporate groups. This adjustment in thinking is necessary because the old names for the clans have been forgotten and because the detailed knowledge Badagas carry of their kinship field—often embracing over three hundred people—coupled with the tremendous accumulation of relatives that comes from numerous births and frequent remarriages could otherwise make the ideal of clan exogamy totally unrealizable.

There is another manipulation to surmount this problem. Ten non-exogamous Gauda villages are in a sense of 'neutral' clan affiliation: that is, they may arrange marriages in their own village or with any Gauda clan without generally being accused of marrying within a prohibited degree. They thus form a kind of safety valve: the precedent of a marriage with one of these villages can be used to validate any other village's membership of a particular clan. This is possible because the six clans are not generally known by names now (though at least two of them still were in the last century): they are identified only by reciprocal terms meaning 'agnates' and 'affines' (or 'our clan' and 'another clan'). These special villages also act as a kind of reservoir of youths and girls eligible to *any* Gauda village needing spouses.

Though the vast majority of Gauda marriages are within this complicated system of clans and neutral villages, a number of permissible marriages have also been arranged with other phratries. Ha:ruvas marry into Gauda families, though now with decreasing frequency; the meat-eating Adikiris, a small clan, have no marriages outside the Gauda phratry to which they therefore belong in sense if not name.[16] A very recent development has been the marriage of a few Badaga Christian girls with Gauda boys, usually those with college education. Christian girls enjoy a certain reputation among urbanizing Badagas for their comparatively high level of education and their 'freer' interaction with men. When a Christian girl marries a Gauda her patrilineal ancestry must still trace back to a clan other than her groom's.

Gaudas, like Badaga Christians, are usually meat-eaters. They are willing to eat in the houses of any other phratry but the Toreas and the Christians. Adikiris, Kaṇakkas and Wodeas offer Gaudas

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

food in the outer room only, whereas Ha:ruvas and Kaggusis allow them to eat in the inner room. Such dining occasions usually arise when Gaudas visit families related to them through marriage. In each of these cases the Gaudas receive only vegetarian food; more generally the vegetarian phratries do not eat with non-vegetarians. Toreas may be given food in the outer room of a Gauda home, but meat-eating Adikiris (who may marry Gaudas) eat in the inner one.

KUMBA:RAS

Few Badagas know of the existence of this phratry, so small are its numbers. They have only fifty households, or about 300 people, who live in two villages near Male Ko:ṭe, where they were once employed as potters (whence their name). Each village is an exogamous clan; when possible, alliances are arranged between the two. As one village contains four times as many families as the other the larger village has to look elsewhere for most of its spouses, however. They no longer intermarry with other Badagas but with the several thousand families of Kanarese Kumba:ras living in and near Mysore City who are believed by the Nilgiri Kumba:ras to share a common ancestry with them. The Kumba:ras living on the plateau nevertheless class themselves as Badagas and are so recognized by their neighbours as they bear a Badaga culture identical with that of the Gaudas. Among those Badagas who know the Kumba:ra villagers many consider them to be Gaudas, though only at Me:lu:ru have they been absorbed into the Gauda phratry.

The traditional occupation of Kanarese Kumba:ras was potting,[17] and although these Badagas no longer know the craft there are any number of broken sherds stratified at a depth of two or three meters in the ramparts of the old Male Ko:ṭe fortification to testify to this former industry. On the basis of their presumed (if servile) connexion with royalty the Kumba:ras claim to be the highest of all Badaga phratries; other Badagas knowing anything about them rank them below Gaudas and above Be:das and Toreas. Some Kumba:ras are vegetarians; most are not. Their rules for commensality are the same as those of Gaudas.

BE:DAS

Another small phratry neighbouring on the Kumba:ras, the

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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615 Be:das, also number about fifty families divided between two clans. Their two villages near Male Ko:te each include members of both clans and thus are not exogamous (Metz, 1864, 47-48; Francis, 1908, 350, 370). Though they no longer marry with any other Badagas they, too, are undeniably Badagas. These people either marry into the other Be:da clan or arrange marriages with Kanarese Be:das (who are not Badagas) from Mysore City and Tiruppu:r (Coimbatore District).

The Be:das believe they came to the hills as hunters in service to the chieftain of Ummattu:r; the word *be:da* means 'hunter' (Thurston, 1909, vol. VII, 331; Burrow & Emeneau, 1961, 382, no. 4547). Though now only farmers they supplemented their diet (262) until 1950 by hunting on the jungle slopes with bow and arrow. As they are eaters of meat and traditionally takers of life they are now ranked by other Badagas as lower than Kumba:ras but still above Toreas. It is worth noting that Kumba:ras and Be:das, like other non-Lingayat villagers, have their own 'commune Toreas' who act as messengers for the headmen. Most Badagas know so little about Be:das that they erroneously think of them as a group totally absorbed into the Gauda phratry. There are in fact two Gauda villages descended from unions of Gaudas with Be:das. (264) The Be:das follow the same rules for commensality as Gaudas.

TOREAS

The Toreas were universally regarded as the lowest of Badaga phratries, but they had yielded that position to the Christians by 1900. In former times they were the poorest and least educated of Badagas (Harkness, 1832, 112). Though there are certain meat-eating Adikiris who have become absorbed into one Torea village (162) the phratry is now endogamous. It numbers about 5000 people and occupies twenty-six villages. No historical connection can be traced between them and the Kanarese Toreas.[18]

Like all other Badagas they are primarily cultivators, but in addition they hold a traditional role of messengers and 'commune servants', even in the Be:da villages, whence their low status. Certain Toreas are even now appointed (except in Lingayat villages) for specific duties at festivals and some public ceremonies, particularly funerals. For this they receive a quarter-rupee and three measures of grain from each household. In some Torea

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

614 11. Ward, 1821, lxxi, Hough, 1829, 88; Metz, 1864, 54; Grigg, 1880, 221; Francis, 1908, 131. The claim was based on their membership in the Brahma sept.

000 12. Kittel, 1894, 1650, gives the Kannada *Hāruva* as meaning 'Brahmin'; Burrow & Emeneau, 1961, 273, n. 3366, translate it as 'Brahmin' or 'seer'.

●262 562 783 13. Benbow, 1930, 9. This claim is dubious, since the pollution of meat normally cannot be removed from a woman, only from a man.

14. Metz, 1864, 50-51, 63-64; see above, 21, 41. *Adikari*, meaning 'powerful man', was once used as the title of a village headman or magistrate appointed by the local chieftain, acting for the ruling power in Mysore.

614 15. Since about 1960 some of them have taken to wearing the *linga* again.

16. Most Badagas now consider these Adikiris as Gauda, as they do Be:das and Kumba:ras.

000 17. An art they are said to have taught the Kotas.

18. Thurston, 1909, vol. VII, 176; see above, 32-33. The Toreas of Ha:sanu:ru now intermarry with those of Mysore.

615 19. See below, 123. Belli Gowder, 1938-1941, 11, gives his gratuity at a funeral as 'a sum of Re. 1.25 along with ten measures of rice'.

20. Harkness, 1832, 109; Breeks, 1873, 14. It may be that these writers confused the Toreas with Kaikolans, however: twelve male and nine female Kaikolans were enumerated in Todana:du early in 1821; Grigg, 1880, 26. They were a low-status caste of weavers and musicians from Coimbatore, some of whose women were dedicated in a temple to the art of prostitution; Thurston, 1907, 29-30; 'Miles', 1951, 200-202.

609 21. Here a note about commensality with other non-Badagas. Wodeas and other Lingayats never allow a Nilgiri tribesman to enter beyond the veranda; neither may any non-Lingayat visitor from the plains enter. Ha:ruvas and [illegible] lower phratries permit Todas and until recently Kurumbas, Irulas and Kasuvas to eat in the outer room. Kotas and any lowlander thought to be a Hindu untouchable are too polluting to be allowed past the veranda.

[p. 98 is blank]

3: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1968
AW50 Badaga AW50

796 824 (412) (418) Kotas especially for this purpose. Sprigs from the branch are distributed, and every man places a small sprig on top of the salt that remains in his basket. A branch is also cut from the hill gooseberry and distributed in exactly the same way.

796 The celebrants now return to their homes, again led by the man from the Great House. Other male members of each family may follow this party, driving the buffaloes and carrying the hoes. Each man in the ceremonial party, however, has to carry his own potful of water, his iron rod, and his basket (which now contains a little salt, the two twigs mentioned, and also a remaining piece of the *'hubbe* that has otherwise been used as a brush). As the men walk they chant *"hau hau,"* an expression of their happiness. When they reach the hamlet they shout *"ki:i:hi,"* which means, "It is finished." Then the party splits up. Each member goes to his calves and gives them a taste of the salty water he has brought back. After that he is ready to enter his house.

There is still more ritual to be performed, however, for the man must enter his house in a prescribed way. As he comes toward the entrance, the oldest woman in the family stands just inside the inner room, leaning out through its doorway in such a way that she can also see through the entrance to the house. As soon as she sees the man coming across the front yard, she asks him three times in succession, "Have all the cattle drunk salt well?" He answers "Yes" each time. During this interchange the man continues walking but his pace is measured so that he will not enter the house until he has said "Yes" for the third time. On reaching the doorway he is careful to step auspiciously across the threshold with the right foot first.

Once inside the house he stands the iron rod against the wall near the door, and then puts the basket of salt on top of the hole in the floor where grain is usually crushed and where the salt was powdered earlier. The woman then comes from the inner room, takes the three sprigs from this basket, and hangs them from the ceiling of the outer room. She carries (263) the basket to the inner room, which is a kitchen and dining room, and she uses up whatever salt remains in cooking a meal. During the whole performance of the salt-giving ceremony she should use no other salt than this. (178) (Nowadays she has generally finished cooking by the time the man returns home, and so just adds a pinch of his salt to the prepared meal.)

The meal which is served at this time to the members of the household (264) differs from ordinary morning meals in certain respects. The man who has represented the family in the salt-giving ceremony is served before everyone else; ordinarily this would only occur when no other adult male members of the family were present. Furthermore, he is served in the outer room of the house, although meals are otherwise eaten in the inner room, where [262] they are cooked. He eats butter first of all; the rice and vegetable curry follow. Afterwards he must wash his hands in cold water; usually he (515) washes in hot.

During the afternoon each of the celebrants carries his pot of water to the cattle pen and there pours it on the ground. Again the man from the

3: Hockings' E-5 (1962-1963) 1968
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796 when the men stand beside the stream, for it is important that he stand upstream of everyone else so that the water he uses will be purer than [576] that taken by the others (since it is untouched by their hands). While this ceremony is being performed it is also important that no one present, even a headman, wear a turban. The head of each participant must be bare in deference to the leader. When the men are ready to pour brine into the pits they must wait until the leader has done so. And when finally water is poured into their cattle pens the man from the Great House must again be the first to do so.

The prayer, led by this man, is spoken three times. When each participant returns home he is asked three times whether the cattle have drunk well; he answers three times in the affirmative; then a woman hangs up three sprigs from the ceiling. Badagas believe that performing any ritual act thrice makes it especially efficacious.

The foregoing acts, all aimed at insuring an auspicious atmosphere during the ceremony, are but a backdrop to the real business of the day: the expression of hope and gratitude to cattle, friends, and nature.

231 Man's indebtedness to his cattle is expressed on this occasion not only by feeding them salt (which they are thought to enjoy); often when the 796 cattle are being brought together in the hamlet before being taken to the salt pits they are washed and decked with garlands. After they have drunk their fill of brine it is believed that they feel intoxicated, and so the owners pour water over the backs of the animals to cool them. During the afternoon the only work men are permitted to do outside is to make the cattle sheds more comfortable by cleaning or repairing them.

796 Man's dependence upon wild plants is also given expression during this ceremony. We have already mentioned the use of *'hubbe* as a brush. 824 A part of it is also used for sweeping out loose dirt when the pits are dug. This used piece is thrown away, but a sprig of *'hubbe* is still kept on top of the salt and is later carried back to the house. Along with this *'hubbe*, sprigs of two thorn bushes are carried in the basket. When the man has entered his home, these three sprigs are hung from the ceiling. They indicate to the household that the ceremony has been completed without mishap, that the family has participated in the occasion, that the house has been purified, and that hopes for the future are bright. The value •[262] of wild plants is also recalled at this time; both thorn bushes (the dewberry and the hill gooseberry) are a favorite source of sweet, edible fruits. In addition, the wood of the hill gooseberry is very strong, and in earlier [372] days served as material for walking-sticks. It still has an important religious role, as it is used for making ritual fire by friction. The axle in a Badaga's household grindstone is also made of this wood, and the buds and leaves of the hill gooseberry are used in a common medicine for constipation.

796 As the men walk home behind the man from the Great House they continuously chant *"hau hau," "e: hau hau," "ho: hau hau,"* or *"hau ko."* Every one of these interjections is an expression of happiness. Each participant is careful to enter his house with the right foot crossing the

threshold first; to plant the left foot before the right would bring the ceremony to a most inauspicious end.

Even though the ceremony has concluded, the men who have performed in it take various precautions to insure that they retain their state of purity for the remainder of the day. The meal that they eat is a vegetarian one; thus they avoid polluting themselves and their houses by having meat cooked on this occasion. To start the meal with butter is very auspicious, since eating butter is in Badaga thinking a sign of affluence and good luck. When the men have finished the meal they are careful to wash in cold water—the prescribed means of washing whenever Badagas wish to remain in a pure state. Afterwards they can clean and repair the cattle shed if they wish, for this is a meritorious act performed in a sacred place. Otherwise the only permitted activities are the cleaning of their clothes and of themselves.

Finally, we must consider the social relations which are given expression during the ceremony. The various sources of the community's welfare and of its power structure are reflected in the ceremony, albeit in symbolic reference. The family is represented usually by its male head, otherwise by a chosen male representative. The lineage is nowadays symbolized in the common pit used by all the cattle of each lineage. The entire hamlet community is represented in concerted action by the party of men who come from every household in the hamlet, as well as by the man from the Great House who is the living descendant of the founding ancestor.

One curious element is the habit of feeding each celebrant afterwards in the outer, less sanctified, room of his house. Men regularly eat in the inner room; the people who normally must eat in the outer room are the women and all visitors from lower-status phratries of the Badaga community. It would seem that the man who gives salt to his cattle is confident of his own ritual purity and that of his entire house on this occasion. By eating in the outer room he suggests that status differences between men and women, and between his phratry and others, are of no importance provided ritual purity prevails. This attitude is also reflected in other aspects of Badaga culture: people of higher and lower ranking clans intermarry, both hypergamously and hypogamously, and members of lower ranking phratries sometimes participate in the temple rituals of higher phratries without polluting the temples.

Women are excluded altogether from the salt-giving ceremony, if only because there is a risk that the presence of a ritually unclean woman might subvert the benefits looked for from God on this auspicious occasion. And yet the women do play a necessary "backstage" role in cleaning the house, decorating it, bringing in water, and cooking the meal. Segregation of women from the ceremony underlines a basic fact of hamlet organization: the hamlet is exogamous, and hence all wives in it are "outsiders," members initially of other hamlets. Furthermore, women inherit neither land nor cattle. Symbolically the ceremony concludes an annual pact between the men and God for the fruitful blessing of crops, cattle, and children, all of which in Badaga law belong to men alone. Even so, the oldest woman

602 the cowdung to the patches he says: "I am in the
755 relation of sister's husband to you; medicine for *taddu*." In the case of a woman helper she would change the wording to: "I am related as a brother's wife to you . . ." The formula and the touching are done three times.

757 6.6. If similar patches occur elsewhere on the body they are not considered to be *taddu* and are treated differently, as itches. In the old days this cure involved grinding a leaf of chewing tobacco, mixing it with goat dung and water, and putting this onto the patchy skin where it would dry. If however the patch itself is not dry as in *taddu*, then it is given the more usual treatment for itch.
•[262] (Two vegetables, the marrow and the red onion, will cause itching if eaten in large quantities).

164 6.7. Another skin disease is called *a : ne gajji* ("elephant sores"). These are big watery sores on parts of the body which the patient cannot see, such as the back or the cheek. To treat them
757 *ka : vi kallu*, a brown stone, is ground up and
755 mixed with water to form a paste. A sketch of an elephant is made with this on a piece of wood or nowadays slate, and the same paste is also applied to the watery sore once daily for at least three days, during which time it should not be washed off. Each time the paste is being applied the patient stares at the drawing; and he should also stare at it every ten or fifteen minutes during the entire period he is awake during the treatment. If the sore is especially big the paste will be applied morning and evening for several days. Care must be taken that no water falls on the paste. It is allowed to dry on the sore, and with the help of a fire if necessary. After three days the paste can be washed off, but if the sore is still evident another dose of the paste is applied for a few more days. During the entire period of the treatment the patient should not eat any chilies or salt.

ANGIONEUROTIC EDEMA (*a : ne gajji*)

164 6.8. Tinea affects the feet during the rainy season.

TINEA

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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night, after it had been carefully tied up in a cloth so that the seeds would not fall out. Although the poppy head could be green or dried it would be more effective if green. The next day it was taken out of the cloth and ground up with some milk: this mixture was swallowed by the patient very early in the morning, before taking any other food. The therapist varied the dosage according to the patient's age, and would continue the treatment if necessary for up to three days.

6.56. An alternative treatment for constipation uses the bud of the hill gooseberry or, in seasons when it has no bud, the leaf shoots. This medicine, which is more effective than the other (6.55); is also taken for one, two or three days before the first meal. As with the poppy head, these buds are ground up with milk and eaten by the sufferer. Some other medicament is tried if the condition does not clear up in three days. Castor oil is now a common laxative: one or 1½ teaspoonfuls are swallowed, and some is also put onto the rib of a tobacco leaf, which is inserted into the rectum (cf. 5.34).

HEMORRHOIDS (*mu:la*)

6.57. Piles is likewise caused by "over-heating" of the body, and therefore the patient is to be given "cooling" foods. Vegetarians eat milk products, non-vegetarians eat certain eggs and meat that are said to be "cooling." Patients also eat *nella ki:re*, an amaranth which grows wild. This is baked with clarified butter (without being first ground up), and is eaten with each meal for about a week.

If when a person defecates a hemorrhoid protrudes, the therapist puts clarified butter on a castor-oil leaf and gently pushes the protrusion back into the rectum with it. This is repeated every time the hemorrhoid appears.

DYSENTERY (*mukkalotte*)

6.58. Another ailment of the belly is said to be "very prevalent in the Badaga villages during the hot months when there is scarcity of water"

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all over the patient by a therapist of the same sex, and this is only done at night-time. In addition the patient must swallow at least three mouthfuls of the medicine. A bed is prepared in a hot part of the house, and the patient lies on it and is entirely covered with as many rugs and blankets as possible. After 20 to 90 minutes of this the patient, who is not even allowed to bare his head, breaks into a sweat. If the patient is not cured on the first night of this treatment (generally because he has just had sexual relations), it is continued for the next two nights or even for five consecutive nights. If he is still not cured by then the therapist knows that the illness is something other than Small Wind.

Should the patient want to go out in the morning after receiving this treatment, his face and feet are washed and water sprinkled over his body first. During the days he is being treated his diet is generally rice with onions, green leaves (*soppu*, "greens"), buttermilk, curd and some salt. Until completely cured he should have no chili.

6.72. Leprosy is called *dodda no:* ("big disease") as a euphemism for its real name, *kusta ro:ga*, which Badagas would not generally utter. It is thought of as the worst punishment that can come through illness for the heavy sins of one's ancestors. Neither the Badagas nor the Kurumba specialists have a cure for leprosy, although those patients who can afford it take opium continuously to ease the pain. People avoid taking girls in marriage from a leprous family, although leprous men are allowed to mix in public because the disease is not thought to be contagious. Dead lepers are always buried in large quantities of salt, and not cremated.

Other general illnesses are dealt with elsewhere in this volume, in Chapters 5, 7 and 8.

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until they have finished all curing for that night: in fact there must be daylight before the door is unbolted. For this reason the fire must be made so that there is not too much smoke, for the houses have no chimney and windows must not be opened during the night. "No air should come inside and no air should go outside," I was told.

The only food the patient is allowed during each night of the curing is "cooling" food, given him before the cure begins. If he is a non-vegetarian he should not eat meat until he has recovered.

The therapist cleans the pounding-stone and crushes the bark on it with an iron crowbar. The other plants, apart from the strips of Indian willow bark, are then cleaned and pounded with the bark until a paste is formed. This takes an hour or more to complete. The paste is put in a pot with some water and the pounding stone and crowbar are washed with water. This water is added to the pot, which is then put on a fire and boiled continuously for half an hour.

Up to this point (in the curing of one patient, anyway) light had come from the electric lamp. Now the therapist lights all five wicks of the oil lamp; and if no such lamp is to be found in the house one is made out of cowdung, still with the five wicks. It should only burn clarified butter, but if none is in the house then groundnut or some other oil can be used instead. The patient sits in the middle of the inner room, while the therapist puts five four-anna silver coins belonging to the patient's family under the lamp. All of these coins have the head upwards—or nowadays the Ashoka Capital instead.

On the floor near where the mixture has been cooked the therapist smears some cowdung. He puts the lamp on this, with one of the coins under each wick-nozzle. The patient sits there on a sack, and is covered up with four blankets over his head so that no air can get in to him. The first blanket

2 FEEDING AND CARING FOR THE BODY

539

"Have a meal daily; wait to have other things."

(Proverb)

Types of Foodstuff

262 261 2.1. The common items in the Badaga diet are in many cases believed to have either a "heating" or a "cooling" effect on the body. It has thus been possibe to classify the common foodstuffs according to this effect (Table 2), which is an important factor in Badaga therapeutics as well as in the Ayurvedic system. There are however other items that are occasionally eaten, but which it has not been possible to classify in this manner. The peach-tinted pannicled mallow, for example, is a jungle plant with leaves that are sometimes cooked in curry. The citron is a wild fruit that can be used instead of lime for making into a pickle: it has to be kept a week after pickling before it is ready to eat. A wild nettle produces a tuber that is thought to be very nutritious (*Urticaria tuberosa*; Shortt 1868: 60), and a half-dozen other wild tubers are also eaten. Small birds are eaten if caught (but the local rodents and reptiles are not). Larger wild animals like pig, deer, "ibex," and even tiger are sometimes shot or trapped and then eaten, but leopard, buffalo and elephant, though common, are not. Some children like to eat charcoal. Doubtless there are other items that have escaped my notice because of the rarity of their use as food or because their occurrence is very localized.

[128] In Table 2 it will be noticed that the food items have been organized under some conventional subheadings of Western cuisine. This was done for the reader's convenience, and *does not* represent a Badaga taxonomy. It does however happen to underline how each basic category of Western food (e.g. meats, oils) is split by the heating/cooling categorization of the Badagas. The Western reader will

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find it difficult, after inspecting Table 2, to produce any rational explanation for the Badaga categorization. Foods which others would find sweet and watery (e.g. the common Nilgiri barberry) are considered heating, while some foods that others find hot to the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 261]

Table 2. Classification of Usual Badaga Foodstuffs According to Their Presumed "Heating" or "Cooling" Effect on the Body

	Heating	*Neutral*	*Cooling*	*Cited use in medicine*
VEGETABLES :				
bamboo shoots	×			
capsicum	×			
cabbage	×			
mu:l ki:re (amaranth) leaf	×			
Indian mustard leaf	×			
marrow (large amount)	×			
red onion (large amount)	×			72, 111, 127, 137-139 143, 146
white onion	×			
spring onion	×			
radish	×			
gujji avare (kidney bean)	×			
egg-plant	×			
chili	×			71-72, 111, 117, 138-139, 151, 161
mustard	× ×			
marrow		×		72, 111
pumpkin leaf		×		
ki:re (amaranth) leaf		×		113
common nightshade leaf		×		
fenugreek leaf		×		105
small white bean		×		
common chickweed		×		
garlic		×		81-83, 128, 143, 146
pea			×	
potato			×	
mulberry leaf			×	
aravaltavare (kidney bean)			×	

red onion			×	
ellanavare (various broad beans)			×	
turnip			×	
cauliflower			×	
nella ki:re (amaranth) leaf			××	128
FRUITS :				
common Nilgiri barberry	××			99
mountain black plum	×			
peach	×			
limes		×		73, 79, 81, 90, 112, 130
olive linden		×		127
jackfruit		×		
cape gooseberry			×	
purple granadilla			×	
pear			×	
orange			×	
plum			×	
apple			×	
hill gooseberry			×	119, 128
coconut			×	
tomato			×	
plantain			×	
GRAINS :				
arova sa:me (little millet)		×		83, 88, 90, 102-103, 109, 151
akki ganje (barley)		×		
ganje (barley)		×		
maize		×		
bi:r ganje (brewer's barley)	××			
prince's feather	××			
finger millet		×		
ka: sa:me (little millet)		×		137
rice			×	90, 103, 139
e:r sa:me (little millet)			×	

[p. 25]

[262] [261] MEATS :				
eggs	×			
mutton	×			
chicken	×			
fish	×			
Nilgiri "ibex" or tahr	×			
pork			×	
OILS :				
gingelly oil	×			79, 104-105, 109, 113, 126
coconut oil	×			74, 85, 112, 134
castor oil			×	74, 80, 104, 113, 118, 128
STIMULANTS, NARCOTICS :				
[272] coffee	×			77, 80, 82
[270] chewing tobacco	×			104, 111, 128-129
[273] brandy	×			80
arrack	×			
[276] opium	××			80-81, 127, 131, 139
betel with lime		×		
[292] tea			×	
OTHER MISCELLANEOUS FOODS :				
[263] salt	×			
milk	×			
honey	×			
vibuti (sacred ash)		×		
weathered feldspar "earth"		×		
crude sugar (jaggery)		×		81
buttermilk			×	
clarified butter			×	
curds			×	
crude palm sugar			×	
black pepper			×	
water			×	
butter			××	
[263] spices (cooked in curry)	?	?	?	

(*Note* : xx indicates an extreme heating or cooling effect.)

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mouth (e.g. black pepper) are considered cooling by Badagas. Furthermore milk is somewhat heating, whereas buttermilk is cooling. Especially curious is the case of the hill gooseberry, which is a cooling food but is treated as heating because "it has many small seeds inside which dry in the bowels and so cause constipation." The best subjective explanation that I have been able to provide for the Badaga categorization is that the heating foods may be more indigestible than others, and hence have a greater tendency to cause heartburn. This is not however what informants told me, and I hesitate to venture the idea.

Preparation of Food

2.2. Badaga cuisine has two aspects to it: one is the preparation of a meal, the second is the preservation of food for its future use.

While Badagas do not have ovens, they have a variety of cooking techniques. A large pot with a rack fitted inside can be used like an oven for baking. Frying, boiling and roasting are the other cooking techniques. (One simple example of a delicacy made from the leaves of cabbage or prince's feather is as follows. The leaves are cut up fine and boiled in water; the water is then drained off. Oil or clarified butter is heated in another pot with onion, mustard and chili. These are cooked until they smell good, then the boiled leaves are added.)

Boiled rice and, until very recently, several millets, form the staple of each Badaga meal. A meal is not considered complete without a curry, however, to be eaten with the rice or millet. This is a vegetable curry more often than not, since even the meat-eaters who make up the great majority of the Badaga population are not able to have meat at every meal. A Badaga proverb reminds us, "If there is no taste in the sauce, will there be taste in the [curry] pieces?" Milk makes the food richer: "If the milk [in cooking is too] much, will the food be spoiled?"—obviously not. Butter is not recommended, however, because it may attack the lungs with "cold" unless it is first clarified by heating.

Eggs, less commonly cooked than mutton, are boiled, fried, or made into omelettes. Some people now eat them raw. Fish is rarely cooked by Badagas, largely because they dislike the smell and are afraid of the bones. (A fish-bone is dislodged from the throat by swallowing balls of boiled rice.) Badagas like their meat hot and peppery

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252 when they are drinking liquor with the meal. Mutton, pork and chicken and the occasional game animals are either roasted or stewed in a curry. It is said that in the early days mutton was simply burned in the fire for a while, till it was dry.

[263] Salt is generally used in cooking. ("If the curry is saltless, you can add salt; but if the salt has lost its savour, what can you add?") 251 Badaga women also used to salt and dry surplus meat, frying it later when it was needed. The practice has now stopped because hunting has virtually ceased. Dried meat and other foodstuffs which last a long time are generally prepared for use in the rainy season. Tiger flesh, for example, should first be soaked in salty water, and then the pieces left on a roof to dry in the sun for 5-8 days. Tiger, pork, "ibex" [539] and deer meat will spoil if not properly cured, but kept for too long; hence the proverb: "If [dried meat] is threaded and tied it will be spoilt as curry pieces; if it is burnt and eaten the stomach will be spoiled." In pre-British days when men occasionally had to go on [484] long trading expeditions they took a foodstuff prepared from wheat flour, salt and crude sugar, which was cooked by steaming and would keep for months.

Meals

264 2.3. There are several proverbs that refer to eating, especially to 539 the undesirable effects of over-eating. It is believed a person cannot work well if he eats too often: "A woman who eats once a day will be healthy; a woman who eats twice a day is healthy; a woman eating thrice daily will be chronically sick." And again, "He who controls his eating will not become sick; he who can control his talk will have no fights;" or alternatively, "Too much talking will end up in a quarrel; too much eating will end in short breath" (Metz 1864: 93). Greed is expressed in the adage: "One person is saying there is not even salt for the evening; another is saying [he wants] sugar for the afternoon." Similarly, "When you can afford to wait till the food is prepared, you can't wait till it gets cool." 262 Finally we can cite a proverb referring to the use of wild plants and 539 to dietary differences between the rich and the poor: "If it is eaten by a wealthy man, it is for medicine; if eaten by a poor man, it is because he has nothing else for his stomach." It is felt one should work hard and eat well enough: "If there is mud on the hand, there is curd in the mouth."

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Badagas typically eat twice daily, once in the morning around eight o'clock and then again in the evening (Gaymard 1924: 3).[1] Each meal consists usually of two courses, the first being a curry, probably of vegetables, eaten with rice or millet. The second course, providing a third of the bulk of the meal, is curd or buttermilk. Usually with this latter course people eat a teaspoonful or so of hot lime relish, made with limes, chilies and salt. Despite the ground chilies it is "neutral" in its heating effect, and is said to dispel a disease characterized by dizziness, nausea and vomiting. At other times of the day Badagas "drink coffee, which because of the cold climate is a necessity for them and not a luxury" (Vivekanandam Pillai 1937: 247). The tedium of these meals is relieved by occasional sweets made from crude sugar, honey, or high-quality millets. Fruits are always appreciated too: "Who died by eating a jackfruit? Who expanded by eating a banana?"

The usual meal and its preparation have been described in these terms:

> The women pound regularly every day in their mortars of stone... a kind of millet, which forms the basis of the daily alimentation. The grain thus decorticated is boiled and served. They sit down on the floor...and...with the fingers of the right hand they crush these boiled grains and dip them in a sauce mostly composed of pepper, mustard and coriander; of this spiced mixture they make little balls of which they consume a number according to their appetite.
>
> Sometimes the housewives prepare cakes of cornflour boiled and mixed with honey and milk. Butter is used for seasoning (Tignous 1911: 116-17).

In most Badaga homes each Monday, the weekly holiday, and in the more well-to-do ones on both Mondays and Fridays, a woman should not cook ordinary green vegetables for the curry but make a richer meal, using beans and peas and, if non-vegetarian, some meat for the dish. A similarly rich dish should be prepared for a

[1] Readers who may be confused by my apparent use of an "ethnographic present" here and throughout the book should know that *if I put a statement in the present tense it is to the best of my knowledge currently valid, and if I follow it with a citation date, such as 1924, it was also noted at that time.*

not savour the idea of that; (although if it happens nothing in particular follows). Should the infant die shortly afterwards, before it has been named, it too is treated as afterbirth material and buried at the usual cemetery. If someone asks the mournful family who has died, the answer must be "No one."

4.13. For the first day or two after birth the mother is given a hot bath four or five times daily. Up till this time she cannot bathe herself, but must have some woman help her. After that time she bathes herself in hot water, twice daily until 25 to 30 days after delivery, and thereafter once daily. Always, the water used is hot. The baby is given a bath three times daily for the first eight days, then twice a day till the nineteenth day, and thereafter once daily, in the evening only.

In the old days, the newly delivered mother was given a special preparation of little millet. This was first baked, and then boiled till it was a mushy porridge (Birch 1838: 104). Now she eats a non-liquid curry. For that peppercorns are fried in a clarified butter, then ground up on the curry grinder. Then some garlic is fried, and salt, tamarind and clarified butter mixed with it while it is kept warm beside the fire. A limited amount of this food is given to the mother twice daily until the fourth or fifth day after delivery, by an old woman who will restrict the quantity even though the mother might want more. Thereafter, for the next 20 to 40 days, according to the state of the mother's health, she continues with this as her morning meal, but in the evenings has paddy rice and lentil soup. She can take a small amount of milk, even from the day of her delivery. This can only be cow's milk, and must be boiled before drinking. It is recognized that a woman who has given birth may appear weak and ugly, and repeated births can lead to ill-health. A proverb puts it this way: "The appearance of a woman who has just given birth to one child is like the appearance of a heifer which has given birth that day."

No woman who has given birth may touch any household utensils till the third, fifth, seventh or ninth day after the first full or new moon, I was told; alternatively it has been reported that she must first see the crescent moon before the period of pollution can end (Thurston 1909: 109). She should be given no work for eight days before or eight days after her delivery: during that fortnight her husband must provide for all her needs, even if he is on the point of divorcing her. It used to be that after five, seven,

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853 the woman is startled, or if she comes into contact with a "bad wind" as we discuss below (5.4). When a nursing mother comes
•[262] from a family known for its low milk yield she is given buttermilk, made from boiled cow's milk, and with it a rich diet of clarified butter and food made from little millet. She does no hard work and enjoys complete rest. (Nothing is rubbed onto the breast.)

5.3. If a nursing mother is eating irregularly, or having sweet things, or too much food, such behaviour can affect the nature of
853 her milk. To counteract its poorer quality a certain medicine can
278 be given to the child, but only between its fifth and twelfth months
759 (generally just in the fifth and sixth). It is made from two plants, *homogu* and false privet, used in the proportion 2:1 and baked with clarified butter. The material is then ground on a special stone and mixed at the same time with some of the mother's milk. A pinch of salt is usually added. Finally half as much butter as the volume of this mixture is added to it, and the resultant medicine is divided into three parts, each rolled into a ball 2 cms. in diameter. The baby swallows one of these balls on the morning, a second in the evening, and the third the next morning.

853 If a nursing mother eats too many sweet things, she may trans-
262 mit worms to her baby through the breast-milk. In fact, small
164 children are much more liable to worms than their mothers. A woman thus may not have worms while her nursing infant does; and if she eats too many sweets in the eighth or ninth month of pregnancy, worms may appear in her child during the first three months of life.

853 5.4. A nursing mother is regularly afraid that if she goes near a
783 corpse or smells another birth, or if she smells anyone other than
784 her own husband in the early morning who has not yet bathed since coitus the night before, the breasts may cease to give milk. Some are even afraid that a sudden noise will have this effect, and others are afraid of hearing talk of any terrifying subject. This phenomenon of a "bad wind" associated with the polluting aspect of coitus, birth and death works in devious ways. When a newly delivered mother is in the room before another woman's delivery occurs she can stay there and the smell at the time of birth will not affect her; yet if she enters a room where a birth has just occurred the bad odour there can affect the flow of her milk.
853 If an adult dies in her presence her milk is not threatened by a
761

175 (Grigg 1880: 228, 268-69). Whatever the details of their migration may be, it is
(167) known that no further Badagas arrived from Mysore after the first English report mentioning the Nilgiri peoples (Buchanan 1807: 246-47). They have been consolidated as a community for at least two centuries (Anonymous 1819: liv-lv; Mac-
178 pherson 1820: lix; Ward 1821: lxx-lxxi). Furthermore the system of socio-cultural interdependence which linked the Badagas with the other tribal groups there at the beginning of the 20th Century did not differ greatly from the situation as it was sketchily recorded in 1603 (Fenicio 1603: 723). In general therefore we
101 197 can say that the Badagas were Kanarese-speaking agriculturists who settled in the Nilgiris from perhaps six until two centuries ago, and who were there consolidated into a tribe-like community interacting with the other local tribes.

433 Records indicate that until about 1860 or 1870 the Badagas were slash-and-burn cultivators as well as settled farmers (cf. Grigg 1880: 315-17, 321; Francis 1908: 4; Thurston 1909: I, 78-79). Those who ate meat were also in the habit of hunting, until some 30 years ago. After 1860 the British administration
241 (657) wanted the peasants to remain on the same tracts of farmland; whereupon they gradually took to cultivating European vegetables, particularly the potato, which
241 439 they sold for cash in the town markets (Metz 1864: 153-54). Since 1957 a series of crop failures caused by a potato disease has prompted the Badagas to turn more and more to the cultivation of tea and coffee, products which are also sold locally for cash. In the past the food needs of these villagers have been satisfied by the cultivation of millets; but since about 1920 it has been more common for them to purchase rice as a staple, using money brought in by the potato, tea or coffee sales (Ranga 1934: 68).

●262 000 Dairy produce is an essential part of the Badaga diet. Nearly every

562 but are not vegetarians. In most parts of India anyone claiming to be a Brahmin
614 and practicing vegetarianism would consider it a great dishonor to take a wife from -- or worse still, to marry his daughter into -- a family of meat-eaters generally acknowledged to hold lower status in the social hierarchy. It is true that marriage between Gaudas and Haruvas is not very common; but the reason lies not in any abhorrence of the idea on the part of the Haruvas, but largely in the inconvenience such a marriage causes a meat-eating family who find themselves obliged to prepare only vegetarian dishes, and in separate vessels, whenever a Haruva affine (581) is visiting them. When a Haruva man marries a Gauda girl, it is usually because (583) he owns little or no land; in such a marriage the bride's father is likely to give the (591) Haruva land in that Gauda hamlet and encourage the couple to settle down there. Such a procedure commonly occurs when the bride's father has no son of his own; but even if he has sons they may be agreeable to the arrangement when land is available. This is the only situation in which Badagas practice uxorilocal residence.

Despite the general rule among Badagas that a woman assumes the status
● 262 and joins the sib of her husband's family, marriage between vegetarian Haruvas
562 and non-vegetarian Gaudas does not mean that the wife has to assume her husband's
614 dietary habits. If a Haruva girl marries a Gauda, then no meat is ever cooked in his house and the wife remains a vegetarian. If her husband wants to eat meat, he will perhaps arrange to have some cooked elsewhere and eat it outside his own home. The children of this union are fully Gaudas, however, and will normally be non-vegetarians. Once the Haruva woman has died her husband's household normal- (783) ly revert to a non-vegetarian diet. It has been reported that, "If a Badaga [i.e. Gauda] woman marries a Haruva she has to give up meat-eating and, to cleanse (753) her, a red hot iron is put to her tongue" (Benbow 1928: 9). "After this she would

262 562 614 (753) not dare to eat meat because of the superstitious belief that she would lose her eyesight" (Karl 1945: 3). From this we can see that a woman who marries into a Haruva family is expected to accept its dietary norms, whereas a Haruva girl marrying into a socially lower sib is not expected to accept its dietary norms (Tignous 1911: 117). If a Haruva girl marries into an Adikari or Kapakka family there will be no change in her diet; but she will be expected to wear the lingam if it is given her, and to behave as a Lingayat. When a Haruva marries a Lingayat girl he continues to wear his thread but she usually continues to wear the lingam (if one has already been given her).

574 614 [186] Haruvas are willing to accept food in the inner (more sacred) room of any other Badaga sib except the Toreyas. They would not demean themselves to enter a Toreya house; and they would probably be offered food only in the outer room of a Wodeya house. Wodeyas never accept food in a Haruva house, as they believe Haruvas to be inferior; but the other Lingayat sibs both eat in the inner room of a Haruva house. Even meat-eating Adikaris, who are not Lingayats, are offered vegetarian food in a Haruva's inner room. The same holds true for visiting Kaggusis and Gaudas; people who might often have occasion to visit a Haruva household if they are related to it by marriage. Haruvas also allow Todas, Kurumbas, Irulas and Kasubas to eat in the outer (less sacred) room of the house, but Kotas are considered too polluting to pass beyond the entrance.

614 582 (162) The vegetarian Adikaris are a Lingayat sib, numbering perhaps 3500 people, who inhabit sixteen hamlets scattered across the plateau. The sib should only intermarry with Haruvas or Kapakkas; but in the past 30 years a few have married girls from Lingayat families in Mysore. Rarely will a girl from the Nilgiris go to Mysore to marry, on the other hand. There have also been a few

234 pasture on neighboring slopes, and processes milk into clarified
778 butter. This, as the sacred clarified butter of the Badagas, is used
(793) in lamps within the dairy-temple and for ritual at Badaga festivals
or temples. Any Badaga male may visit the Bergani dairy-temple and
(237) drink buttermilk given to him by the priest. Because women are pollut-
(372) ing, no woman may enter the dairy-temple complex itself. However,
(262) women of nearby Bergani hamlet come daily to an established point at
(562) an uncontaminating distance from the dairy-temple and there receive
(783) buttermilk for household consumption. Buttermilk from processed
sacred milk is also drunk by the priest. The priest never eats meat
793 while in office and cooks his own vegetarian food. All grains, vege-
(262) tables, and other foodstuffs needed by him are supplied by visitors
(431) or neighboring Bergani Badagas.

The festival honoring Masthi Hethai takes place on a Monday in
796 mid-January. Badaga males from all over the Nilgiris come with their
(788) Hethai sticks to worship the goddess (Plate III, B). Women may also
(562) attend, but must remain an uncontaminating distance away from sacred
(293) places. Men and women wear new white clothing, must not bring any-
(262) thing made with leather, and eat no meat during the festival. At the
(784) festival's climax, two entranced priests believed to be possessed by
Masthi Hethai predict crop yields in the coming main crop season
(793) (karbokan) and inform a few men that their wives will shortly conceive.
(241) Daily and festival rituals at Bergani are thus parts of a fertility
(842) cult related to the Badaga's economy and future prosperity.

234 Badaga hundis. The Badagas have for a long time used seasonal
361

234 wall, and a bough barricade. The dwelling-hut has a low sleeping
361 level, the necessary churn-pole for processing milk, and a fireplace
(342) set in a low platform. Five calf-huts surround the dwelling-hut, and there is also a separate calf-pen. All the hut walls were constructed with posts placed next to each other, and roofs were thatched. Kinkara Hundi, also used in 1963 and located close to Bhavani Hundi, is situated next to a stream and extensive shola (Figure 12). Post, branch, and log fences enclose a large circular cattle-pen, a smaller cattle-pen, and a calf-pen. There are three calf-huts next to a (343) dwelling hut. The calf-huts have post walls, and the dwelling-hut has stone walls. Grass thatching was placed over all the roofs.

During the 1963 season only one group of Badaga shepherds was 234 contacted by the writer (Plate III, D). The seven men taking turns 361 in living at Kinkara Hundi were herding 92 buffaloes and 40 cattle. (221) Livestock driven westward in February were to be taken back in May. The herders came from Ithalar and Poratti, where they left wives and other relatives during the dry season preceding the main agricultural 234 season. Milk was daily supplied by the Badagas to tea shops near the 439 upper Bhavani dam site, where all activities ceased during the westerly monsoon. Clarified butter was sold in the Ootacamund shandy. (484) The daily walk to the tea shops was about six miles one way, while on periodic walks to Ootacamund by a different herder each time a distance exceeding 20 miles was covered. Grains and other edibles were • 262 (439) obtained from homes, stalls near the dam site, and the Ootacamund shandy. Milk and milk products, excluding clarified butter, also 234 formed a part of their diet. Livestock were being milked only in the

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 691

243 may be removed through hand threshing by women with threshing-sticks.
251 Finger millet is dried in the sun until individual grains crack when crushed between one's teeth. It is stored away after winnowing and may be kept for years without spoiling. Underground storage pits for finger millet are no longer in general use. After barley and wheat heads are removed, they are dried in the sun. Women, working on courtyards, use threshing-sticks to thresh the grain. Following further sun-drying and winnowing, grain is ready for storage.

231 (175) Livestock. From the early 1800s Badagas have reared chickens, buffaloes, cattle, goats, and sheep (Keys 1812: 11; Birch 1838: 103-105). They never keep pigs, and chickens are not commonly reared.
262 Because of close ties between bulls and Lord Shiva, the Saivite Badagas are not beef eaters. Mutton is eaten more than any other meat, so goats and sheep are kept as a meat supply. Milk processing into curds,
234 462 butter, buttermilk, and clarified butter had been carried out by men in the sacred hagotus within houses. Only one to a few families in
231 each community now own livestock, and sometimes a single male within a family will take care of the livestock. There are a few families which
231 434 depend almost entirely on sale of mutton, milk, and milk products for a livelihood. Most, however, use livestock as a supplementary income source, or to obtain meat and milk for home consumption.

231 771 796 Religious ties between Badagas and their buffaloes or cattle, as demonstrated at Bergani, are also present in communities. Monday, Lord Shiva's day and a holiday, is a day sacred to the herd. In former times oxen were not worked and cows were not milked on this

of construction. Families were given clothing annually. Each week Paniyas received small monetary amounts which enabled them to purchase condiments or other articles in the local market. Betel leaves, areca nuts, and other chewing ingredients were issued weekly. On festival days Paniyas were feasted and given sweetmeats (Ranga 1934: 55-59).

Master-serf relationships still persist in the Nilgiri Uynaad. Not all Badagas have Paniyas working for them, but when such a relationship exists Paniya females and males perform many of the agricultural tasks. The women also prepare grain with mortar, pestle, and winnover, and carry water to Badaga houses. Using split bamboos, Paniyas make any type of basket that is required. These people live in houses built somewhat like Badaga houses. However, their houses have smaller dimensions, usually one door, and walls built of woven bamboos frequently covered with daub (Figure 23). The houses are arranged haphazardly in a nucleated community or are dispersed over hills. They are normally not far from Badaga dwellings. Paniyas have their own burial centers and worship centers with shrines.

In addition to receiving food allocated by their masters, Paniyas obtain produce from garden plants grown near their dwellings. They fish with aid of bamboo mats, bamboo fishing scoops, and fish poison (crushed Randia dumetorum Lamk. fruit). Most fish are caught during the harvesting period and in the ensuing dry season. Fishing is then facilitated by the concentration of fish in small water bodies left after the evaporation of moisture from fields, ponds, and streams. An occasional food source for Badagas, Paniyas, and other Nilgiri Uynaad residents are the many bamboo seeds, called bamboo rice, which

222 262 137 are collected when bamboos (Bambusa arundinacea Willd., Dendrocalamus strictus Nees) periodically produce seeds and die off.

000 411 000 Hullu Kurumbas living in the western Nilgiri Wynaad and nearby Malabar Wynaad frequently hunt with bows and arrows. However, in 1963 I found no proof of their use by the Badagas and Paniyas inhabiting the Nilgiri Wynaad. Again, the evidence indicates that in most of the Nilgiri region hunting nets and spears have in the past been standard hunting implements. Paniyas have gained a reputation for hunting tigers with hunting nets and spears. According to Francis (1908: 30-31), hunting nets from various households were joined into a "V" surrounding a tiger. Directed by Paniyas up in trees, other Paniyas with spears drove the tiger toward the "V's" point while simultaneously closing the opening. The surrounding nets were slowly moved in during a period of several days, and Paniyas lit nightly fires all around the enclosure. Finally, the half dead and harassed tiger was speared to death. Similar hunts are said to still be held upon occasion.

241 Gardens. In multilayer gardens around houses these species were noted: guava, jack, mandarin orange, mango, pagoda, pummelo trees, areca (Areca catechu L.), fishtail (Caryota urens L.) palms, banana fronds, papaya plants, sugarcane, shrubby amaranth (Amaranthus cruentus L., common race), brinjal, castor, chili (Capsicum annuum L.), coffee, okra (Hibiscus esculentus Bend.), tomato, edible root-yielding canna, elephant foot yam (Amorphophalus campanulatus Bl.), tapioca, taro, creeping lablab bean, bitter-gourd, pumpkin, rose, sweet-potato,

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)
AW50 Badaga AW50
Kota AW55
Kurumba AW56
Toda AW60
Madras Tribes AW63
Kasuva

241 and yam (compare with Table II).

Flowers and leaves of fishtail palms are used for ornamental purposes. Badagas also grow bananas in single layer gardens. After 245 cutting off stems laden with green bananas, Badagas and Paniyas place them in banana pits with pots in which green wood is burned (Figure 23). The heat and smoke within pits sealed with planks and mud cause bananas to ripen rapidly in two or three days. Leaves from planted amaranth are the only parts eaten. Badagas also eat leaves plucked 222 from wild amaranths (Amaranthus gracilis Desf., A. spinosus L.) 262 commonly growing in gardens. Leaves and roots of planted taro are 137 edible. However, only the leaves cut from wild taro (Colocasia antiquorum Schott) growing next to streams and in gardens are eaten. 241 Ceara rubber plants (Manihot glasiovii Muell. Arg.) descended from stock used in experimental rubber production on adjacent plantations are now weeds occasionally left growing in gardens. Brinjal and chili seeds are first sprouted in a small nursery on stilts (Figure 23). Both plants are also planted in kitchen gardens with parallel earthen ridges. At Mundhatti, in 1963, there was a ridged kitchen garden with alternated kidney beans, brinjals, chilies, and maize. Elephant foot yam or taro are occasionally grown on ridges within single layer shaded gardens (Plate XII, F). Tapioca is increasingly being cultivated as a dry field crop planted on hoed ridges, but is not a typical Badaga crop.

243 Dry field agriculture. As upland dry fields are often left fallow, only small acreages are covered with crops at any single time.

9: Natesa Sastri U-5 (no date) 1892
AW50 Badaga AW50

Siva image—tied round their necks. They claim to be superior to all the Baḍagas and are regarded as such. They are priests to all the Baḍagas of the Lingâyat class and are strict vegetarians. They do not intermarry with any of the other high-caste Baḍaga sects. Uḍaya was and is the title assumed by the Maisûr Râjas, and those Baḍagas by being thus designated as a caste, claim superior blood in their veins.

Next in rank come the Hâruvas. From their name being so closely connected with the *Âryas*—the respectable—and from their habit of wearing the Brahmanical thread, we are warranted in believing that they must have been originally the poor Brâhman priests of the Baḍagas that migrated to this country, though they have now got themselves closely mingled with the Baḍagas, as is always the lot of an unfortunate few in the midst of many. These Hâruvas also are strict vegetarians, and act as priests. Hâruvas originally did not intermarry with other Baḍaga sects, though now there is a good deal of laxity in the observance of this rule.

The Uḍayas and Hâruvas and, to a certain extent, the Adhikâris also, are vegetarians. The other two high castes, and of course the low-caste Torayas also, have no objection of any kind to eating flesh. It is also said that the vegetarian Adhikâri, if he marries into a flesh-eating caste of the Baḍagas, betakes himself to this latter diet very readily.

The Torayas are the last in the list and they are regarded as sons and servants to the five high-caste Baḍaga sects—to the Hâruvas especially. We shall as we proceed have occasion to notice the several services which a Toraya has to render to the Baḍagas. This last sect is the lowest in the scale and they are prohibited from intermarrying with the other or high-caste Baḍagas, as long as they are sons to them. They are, as we have already remarked, flesh-eaters. The Uḍayas, Adhikâris, and Kaṇakas are Lingâyats in religion and the other three—the Hâruvas, Baḍagas and Torayas are Saivites.

Having thus spoken about their caste divisions we shall next turn our attention to their physical appearance, their character, and their manner of life. The Baḍagas are as a rule slightly built people. The hard weather and the severe climate with which they had to struggle ten generations ago, during their first settlement, joined to the fear of having little to eat, have left well marked traces in their physique. They are laborious